

3. World Scene -

Optimism - perhaps over-optimism of year ago on detente  
gone - instead -

ILLEGIE

Mid East War and Energy Crisis

Skepticism - questioning how all going  
so well with old opponent -  
so many problems at home

Let me start with Detente

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Detente

- Over-optimism: expected too much too fast

Washington correspondent

- Why over-optimistic?

Looked at detente only from our point of view

Assumed Soviet view was same

- U.S. viewpoint - 2 reasons for detente:

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1 rational thing to do

(1) tension on one hand

vast stocks nuclear weapons on other.

Danger was obvious

(2) No ambitions/unfulfilled needs that require competition with Soviets - *Cold War*

Perfectly happy to forego/not take advantage - *Even risk*

*Also rational from own point*  
*rational 2 want to*  
*+*  
~~US~~ Do not fear USSR, despite Cold War years.

Partly because: superior militarily and economically all those years.

Partly because: never attacked/invaded at home.

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2 Second reason - revulsion to Vietnam

- pushed emotionally into detente

- opportunities appeared to offer avoid war

- alternate uses of \$

*If they the rational/emotional*  
Did these conditions exist in Soviet Union?

Emotional? No - public opinion not allowed to give emotional thrust to policy

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Rational? - Reasons - same as ours?

1. Soviet homeland invaded repeatedly. Wary of entrusting future to another's goodwill or intentions.

2. Soviets clearly have external ambitions.

- in part from ideological belief that until capitalism suppressed everywhere, it will be aggressive.

- in part have external ambitions because haven't been global power we have in past 30 years. - *Faetue were / they not*

- We humiliated them - from their point of view in

Lebanon - 58

Cuba & Berlin - 62

N. Vietnam - 72

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*So - believe Soviets feel need prove themselves & others*

3. Today moving toward global power status - as emerge from being continental power into maritime power projection around globe - not just across frontiers.

4. If Soviets not have same rational impulses, why did they accept detente?

- We wanted to play that game *B. plan*

- Opened possibilities solving domestic problems

- Saw Tactical advantages - easing pressure on one front while dealing with China on other.

But

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*But had different reasons for entering*  
~~tells us~~ detente means something different to each of us -

without casting accusations of disingenuousness/malevolence/  
false intent.

- Simply had different reasons. *objectives - for not react as we*

To Soviets means shifting competition with us to non-military

- Must expect continued competition

- Must <sup>prepare</sup> expect Soviets to overreact if tempted

- Did in Mid East when going well for Egypt.

- Did in grain deal - not understand our reaction.

- Did on suppression of dissent (Solzhenitsyn)

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Analogy to faithfulness to wife - easy when no opportunity.

We must not provide Soviets opportunities.

In part means continued diplomatic efforts.

In part that means remaining militarily strong.

On military side:

\* - One facet of that strength particularly important - deterrent impact of our peacetime readiness and to show our military

force around world. *Forget leverage*

- Do not want to fracture detente by having to restrain Soviets militarily. Want to eliminate any temptation.

- Make clear we have power and the will to use it.

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- Detente only works from positions of equality. With USSR continuing to build military forces at accelerated rate, not the time for us to dismantle our military - or permit it to weaken through absolence.
- Special emphasis on Naval Forces - best suited to go anywhere in world and demonstrate our interests and capabilities to support those interests
- Deterrence - more difficult for military officer to understand complexities of deterrent impact of military force than its war fighting potential.
- Warfighting -
  - Hardware
  - Tactics      Basics of our trade
  - Morale
- Deterrence -
  - Psychological
  - Perceptions
  - "Mind-reading"